

Republic of Chile
Chilean Foreign Ministry
United Nations

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FROM: Chile, United Nations
TO: Acting Minister info. Digen-Diplan

Minister Cubillas says:

1. This morning I visited former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the River Club, where he is staying. Breakfast-meeting lasted a period of seventy minutes in a very cordial atmosphere, Kissinger expressing from the beginning that he was very happy to welcome me, since he had great affection for our country, and great admiration for what is being done there. He remembered his time in Chile fondly, and reiterated several times that he was aware of the progress made, especially in the economic sphere. He also demonstrated profound knowledge of the Chilean situation, both past and present.

2. Various matters were discussed in the conversation, in which Kissinger responded keenly and directly to various questions I put to him. The following covers the main topics broached:

(A) Opinion on the Church and John Paul II.

Once I had expressed my opinion on the speech given by His Holiness at the United Nations yesterday, Kissinger suggested the Pope had made a "beginner's mistake" in choosing to give his main speech in the United States at the United Nations. In his opinion, activities at the UN have little impact on public opinion in the United States, which is why he had always advised US presidents against giving their main speeches in that forum. With reference to the Pope's character, he said he had not yet formed an opinion: "I do not understand," he said, "whether he is trying to manage the left," or to "control the left." Therefore, he added, "I am not completely convinced he will be good for humanity." He added that he was suspicious of Cardinal Casaroli, who in order to save the Church was willing to compromise with communism. However, he said Casaroli was one of the most brilliant minds he had come across.

(B) Carter's Speech on Cuba

He asked my opinion on this, and when I told him I found it weak, he told me he considered it a "disaster." He added that he found it unbelievable that a country with the power of the United States had been the first to say it would not accept Soviet

presence in Cuba, and later ended up accepting it. He mentioned that Carter had called him to ask his opinion, but that what he decided did not correspond to his advice and for that reason he had criticized the measures taken.

(C) Kissinger's Memoirs

He said his memoirs, to be published next week, will cause great discomfort among liberal circles in the United States, and among communists and their friends. When he mentioned the aspects of the memoirs that touch on the Chilean situation, he said ironically that it was a dishonor to Allende that he should continue to be known as democratic, when in truth he was really a communist. Later he referred in detail to mistakes made by the United States during the process prior to Allende's election. He said Ambassador Korry had given the impression that Alessandri was winning, and that the United States was frightened when Allende's victory was predicted, but did nothing since it was already too late.

(D) Chile-United States Relations

I asked him how we should handle our relationship with the United States. He said that was a very difficult question to answer, since the Carter government has "begun making enemies of all its friends and making friends of all its enemies." When I mentioned the Letelier case and indicated our puzzlement at the fact that the United States did not respect Latin America's legal institutions, he admitted we were right: that the Chilean legal decision was correct, but that this was not a legal problem so much as a political one. "It needs to be managed," he said, "with political criteria." Apologizing for his frankness, he said this was a bad case for us, and had been badly managed politically. He added that his only advice was that we treat the current U.S. administration with "brutality." He suggested "this is the only language they understand." He repeated this same idea several times during the conversation. He later said we should make our positions public, and move forward decisively. However, he emphasized that until the election process was complete in the United States and a new administration elected, there was nothing we could do to improve our relations with the United States, given that the problem was being treated as a political one. He said, and I quote, "You will have to tough it out until then." Kissinger immediately gave an account of the position of several figures on Chile, to wit: Kennedy and Church hate Chile. There are no problems with Vance. He considers Vaky a very dangerous element and dubbed him a fanatic. He added that he knew him well because he had worked under him. He stressed that Vaky wanted to put Christian-Democratic governments everywhere. He added that Vaky was worse than Christopher. Regarding Pat Derian, in charge of humanitarian matters in the State Department, he said she was "stupid" and should receive tough treatment. He also spoke harshly of Marc Schneider and the State Department bureaucracy, which makes statements and sends cables with no control from above.

He said he had a very good impression of Landau, and asked me to send him his best wishes. He also said he had a good impression of Elliot Richardson and that he knew he had made favorable comments on the economic situation in Chile. Of

Brezinsky he said "if he worked with me he would be a good element, but I don't trust him by himself." In any case, he promised to speak with him favorably about Chile. He later said he considered it a disgrace that the United States had helped Allende's government more than the current Chilean government. When I asked his advice on the best approach to adopt if the United States withdraws Landau from Santiago, he suggested we act calmly, and that if it did not imply a compromise to our dignity, that we attempt to keep our ambassador in Washington as long as possible, and instruct him to be firm and direct.

(E) Next, Kissinger gave me some advice about the responsible US organizations, with whom it would be convenient to increase our contacts for the sake of future Chilean-US relations, and indicated the names of some of the people in them: Institute for Strategic Studies, American Enterprise Institute, Council for Foreign Affairs. He likewise suggested that contact be made with Senator Baker, and that we not place too much importance on Senator Helms, who is too right wing. He strongly suggested traveling to the US to speak at Georgetown and the Council of Foreign Relations, even if the trips are made without any contact with the State Department.

Finally, on this topic, he considered the article in today's New York Times that claims Chilean law is "ostensibly" independent from the government to be a negative factor, since the use of that word reveals what is "apparent" or is the case "only on paper."

(F) Furthermore, Kissinger spoke harshly of the United States government's approach in Latin America, where, he said, Carter insisted on eliminating military regimes, without understanding that elections should only be held when the political situation has matured, thus preventing the left from winning. "What do we achieve," he said, "by replacing the military if the communists are going to be left in power?"

(G) With reference to the upcoming United States elections, his opinion was that the Republicans would win, and he even predicted the result: 52% to the Republicans and 48% to the Democrats. He did not place any importance in polls he said were based on data from the East Coast. He added that the Democrats do not win any Western states except for California. He said Connally or Ford were the Republicans with the strongest chances of winning. With respect to Kennedy's chances he said he was now a "movie star" but that further ahead when the fight with Carter intensified, Kennedy could be a candidate, but that he would be "torn apart by Carter."

3. Finally, he was pleased to accept my invitation for he and his wife to travel to Chile, which I told him could be an opportunity for him to give a lecture. However, he told me he would only undertake the trip after six months, since at this time he wishes to work exclusively on finishing the second volume of his memoirs. He added that he would be very pleased to remain in contact to exchange information through the Chilean ambassador in Washington.

4. I informed Ambassador Barros in detail of this fruitful and interesting conversation.